

Town Meeting

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Should Communists Be Allowed To Teach in Our Colleges?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

Speakers

HAROLD TAYLOR

RAYMOND B. ALLEN

ROGER BALDWIN

T. V. SMITH

(See also page 12)

COMING

— March 15, 1949 —

**Should the Administration Labor Bill
Be Adopted?**

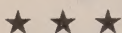
— March 29, 1949 —

What Does Democracy Really Mean?

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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



MARCH 1, 1949

VOL. 14, No. 44

Should Communists Be Allowed To Teach in Our Colleges?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Tonight we are concerned with a question involving a minority of our American citizens who have chosen to align themselves with the Communist party.

There is a body of opinion which holds that membership in the Communist party in this country and American citizenship are incompatible for membership in the former precludes individual integrity and loyalty to this country.

There is another body of opinion which holds that the rights of American Communists must be maintained as long as the Communist party is not outlawed officially in this country.

Most of you are familiar with the very practical problem faced by President Allen of the University of Washington in the recent investigation at the University of certain members of the faculty who were accused of being members of the Communist party.

The widespread report of this investigation and hearing has aroused nation-wide interest on the subject we are discussing this evening—"Should Communists" (and by that we mean *known* Communists) "Be Allowed To Teach in Our Colleges?" We have, therefore, invited President Raymond Allen of the University of Washington; Dr. T. V. Smith of Syracuse University, who reported the hearings for the *New York Herald-Tribune*; President Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College; and Mr. Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, to discuss this question with us.

We will hear first from the president of Sarah Lawrence College, who feels strongly that Dr. Allen has taken the wrong step in dismissing the Communists from his faculty. Dr. Harold Taylor came to Sarah Lawrence in 1945 from the University of Wisconsin where he was a member of the philosophy department. He holds the degree

of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of London and is the author of many articles on philosophy and education. Welcome to Town Meeting, Dr. Harold Taylor. (Applause.)

Dr. Taylor:

I believe that Communists should not be excluded from teaching in American colleges. I say this not because I defend the Communist party, its aims, or its practices, but because I believe that if we begin excluding Communists, we will end by excluding anyone who says anything provocative, unorthodox, or interesting. (Applause.)

The teacher who deliberately distorts truth, according to the Communist line, or any other line, is a bad teacher and should be charged and tried by his colleagues as an individual who is professionally incompetent and not as a member of a political party.

This view I share with the American academic community. We believe that a teacher is also a citizen, and that, as a citizen, he may join any legal political party of his choice, and that, unless he injects his politics into his classes, he should be allowed to continue teaching.

There are two standards by which we can judge:

Is he an honest teacher?

Is he a legal citizen?

The policy of the Association of University Professors therefore states: "So long as the Communist

party in the United States is a legal political party, affiliation with the party in and of itself should not be regarded as a justifiable reason for exclusion from the academic profession."

Now this is not a view which we take innocently, but with the full knowledge of the meaning of Communism and the aims and methods of the party. Inside our colleges today, students do not become indoctrinated with ideas. I have met some who have managed to resist all ideas with equal success. (Laughter.)

American young people in and out of college are, above everything, individualists. One of them said in a college the other day, in a speech to other students, "It is the nature and duty of young people to take nothing for granted, to want to reexamine everything. Otherwise, what would become of us when there is no one to tell us what to think and what to do?"

This is the mood of the American student. He is quick to detect and refute partisan professors or authoritarian politics. He is quick to rebel, intellectually and personally, against anyone who tries to run him. He does not listen submissively.

The professors who teach our students are also independent. They are, for the most part, conservative in their politics. A rather intense investigation of an entire faculty of 1,500 at the University of Washington yielded only three considered dangerous. There is

evidence that during the 20 years in which these men taught at the University that their students were corrupted.

Students and teachers in America have already rejected the Communist party. It is my view that if ever the American Government is undermined, it will be undermined by the apathy of its citizens, not by the advocacy of overthrow.

President Allen said that membership in the Communist party prevents a man from teaching the truth. I have heard truth distorted by Communists, but I believe that President Allen's is a dangerous and heavy-handed way to select truth. It dismisses truth before it is heard, it says that the issue of truth is closed. It implies that there is already an absolute American truth which makes all other impossible. It says that the test of truth is where it comes from. This is simply the Communist argument applied in reverse.

When a man speaks truth or falsehood, he speaks it as a man to other men. We cannot predict its falsehood, we can only judge its content. We judge the falsehood by the man, not by his affiliations.

If a teacher gives us truths not credible to us, let our students and ourselves hunt down his falsehoods and produce those values and ideas which can refute him. If his arguments are dishonest, or his advocacy corrupt, he should not be teaching.

Our teachers serve democracy best when they protect our young

people from subversion, by making them think for themselves, and when they guarantee to America that the daily encounter with truth is free and open.

To refuse to encounter because of public fear is to betray the search and to yield to a failure of nerve. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Taylor. Our next speaker is a physician who turned educator very soon after his graduation as a doctor in medicine from the University of Minnesota. He served for a time as a Fellow of the Mayo Foundation in Rochester, then joined the medical faculty of Columbia University and was later appointed executive dean of the Colleges of the University of Illinois. He has been awarded honorary degrees by many American colleges and became president of the University of Washington, in September, 1946. He came prominently into the national spotlight a few weeks ago during the investigation and dismissal of two members of his faculty charged with membership in the Communist party and a third for other reasons. We are happy to welcome to our Town Hall platform, Dr. Raymond B. Allen of Washington. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Allen:

There is another failure of nerve, Dr. Taylor, which I fear more than what you have mentioned—fear of freedom, which drives Communist faculty mem-

bers to the party line of Marxist dogma. Members of the Communist party should not be allowed to teach in American colleges because they are not free—not free men, I repeat, Dr. Taylor. Neither you nor Mr. Baldwin believes that they are free.

I believe that freedom is what we cannot be without in American civilization. Our educational institutions are the foundation stones of that freedom. They prosper as they maintain free teaching and research.

I contend that, since society must provide the conditions for freedom in the pursuit of knowledge, those who teach and pursue that knowledge have grave responsibilities and duties. They, themselves, must be free seekers after the truth.

If the purpose of education is to seek out and to teach the truth wherever it may lead, as Jefferson taught, then the first obligation and duty of the teacher is to be a free man. Any restraint upon the teacher's freedom is a road block in the path of true education.

The Communist party does not allow its members this freedom. I have come to this conclusion painfully and reluctantly through a long series of hearings and deliberations just concluded on the campus of the University of Washington.

In my opinion, these careful studies proved beyond any shadow of doubt that a member of the Communist party is not a free man

—that he is instead a slave to immutable dogma and to a clandestine organization masquerading as a political party. (*Applause.*)

He has abdicated control over his intellectual life. No matter what his subject matter, a teacher cannot be a whole man and yet a half slave. Communists are forever sworn, and I quote from *The Daily Worker*, of April 2, 1936, a condition of Communist party membership. Please note: "I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party—the only line that insures the triumph of the Soviet power in the United States. I insist that the issue between Communism and education is to the effect that Communist party membership has upon the freedom of the teacher and upon the moral and professional standards of the profession.

It is not an issue of civil liberties. No man has a constitutional right to belong to any profession merely because his political affiliations are legal or illegal.

Can you imagine a biologist unable freely to accept or reject the Mendelian law of heredity? Can you imagine such a scientist committed by political affiliations to an unchangeable Lysenko doctrine on the inheritance of human traits? This I observe is the freedom, Dr. Taylor, permitted to Communists.

Can you imagine a social scientist unable freely to accept or reject the Marshall Plan? Yet,

according to the record of our hearings at the University of Washington, this is the freedom permitted Communist party members who proclaim the right to serve on the faculty of our University.

Can you imagine a philosopher committed to support universal military training in Russia and to oppose it in the United States? Yet this is the weird reasoning of one of the men recently dismissed from the institution I have the honor to head.

A member of the Communist party is not free. That disqualifies him, in my opinion, from professional service.

Because he is not free, I hold that he is incompetent to be a teacher.

Because he asserts a freedom he does not possess, I hold that he is intellectually dishonest.

Because he has failed to be a free agent, because he is intolerant of the beliefs of others, and because education cannot tolerate organized intolerance, I hold that he is in neglect of his most essential duty as a teacher. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Raymond Allen. Our next speaker has been Director of the American Civil Liberties Union since its founding in 1920, and has been active ever since in movements for democratic rights both in this country and abroad. Mr. Roger Baldwin is a graduate of Harvard University and is now a member of its Overseers Com-

mittee of the Economics Department. For ten years in St. Louis, Mo., he organized and handled the department of sociology at Washington University—not to be confused with the University of Washington. Mr. Baldwin finds himself opposed to Dr. Allen's views tonight. Roger Baldwin, step up to your accustomed place. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Baldwin:

Though I am on the affirmative side of this argument, I am no special pleader for Communists. I will accept any characterization of them that Dr. Allen and Professor Smith choose to make. We in the Civil Liberties Union exclude Communists among other anti-democrats from our Council. But we defend their civil rights on precisely the same ground as those of other citizens engaged in legal activities. We, therefore, hold that no lawful political beliefs or associations—Communist or other—should in themselves bar anyone from teaching.

I suggest that the question of policy that we are discussing rises above Communists. On a higher level, it is whether our colleges are justified in conditioning the right to teach on any views and associations which have nothing to do with professional fitness.

If they are so justified, there are many others besides Communists whose associations are either alien to American democracy or whose intellectual freedom is limited by political or religious dogma.

Should we not apply the same rule to members of the Ku Klux Klan, to anti-Semites, white supremacists, Fascist sympathizers? (Applause.) And I may add Jehovah's Witnesses. If so, should we not screen all teachers constantly for pure loyalty to American democracy and the search for truth as conceived, let us say, by the Un-American Activities Committee?

Dr. Allen and Professor Smith must answer either that we should screen them all for such heresy, which I think they will not, or that Communists are a special class. That is their case. They maintain that Communists hold a primary loyalty to a foreign dictatorship. Of course they do. But so do some others to some other foreign dictatorships. There's nothing special in that.

They maintain that Communists alone are controlled by a blind party discipline which unfits them as teachers devoted to intellectual freedom.

Ignoring others also unfree, I accept that test in relation to appointments in an economics or government department where professional fitness might be compromised by party membership or even fellow-traveling, just as fitness to teach, let us say, ethics or anthropology might be compromised by membership in the Ku Klux Klan.

But would the professional competence of a teacher of art or

astronomy be affected by membership in either?

I would not lay down the hard-and-fast general ban, which Dr. Allen and Professor Smith advocate, to deprive Yale University for instance, of the services of a famous Brazilian architect whom it appointed, though he is a well-known Communist. I would not bar from all teaching the distinguished British scientist, J. B. S. Haldane, just because he's an editor of the *British Daily Worker* nor Joliot-Curie, the eminent French atomic scientist and avowed Communist party member.

I would bar only individual teachers for unfitness to teach their subjects, and I would take into account their associations only as they affect their teaching. (Applause.)

Are colleges so lacking in common sense in appointments or tenure that we must resort to an ironclad ban on all Communists in all positions, because of their unfitness for some? As a practical matter, the question is a bit academic. No open Communist teaches in any of our colleges, and it is notoriously difficult to spot the hidden ones.

Must we subject every teacher to the humiliations of loyalty tests in the hope of turning up a few of them? I am not aware that any of the major associations of educators have yet taken any such view of teachers' beliefs and associations and it is their business—not that of un-American committees, presi-

dents, and trustees—to set fair standards for teachers.

I would not regard democracy so weak, our students so supine, our faculties so inept that we need to yield to indiscriminate fears of Communism by quarantining all our higher education from the dread infection. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Roger Baldwin. Our next speaker, Thomas V. Smith, known affectionately by his friends as T. V., is a native of Texas, and taught at the University of Texas for two years before he went to the University of Chicago to teach philosophy. He's always been active in public affairs and served a term in the Illinois State Senate and was a member-at-large from Illinois in the 76th Congress of the United States. He is now professor of philosophy and citizenship at Syracuse University, and a speaker on Town Meeting as often as we can have him. T. V., the microphone is yours. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Smith:

I am only myself an ignorant man and a school teacher here tonight up against this clever lawyer, Roger Baldwin, and this smart president of still smarter girls at Sarah Lawrence College, Harold Taylor. (*Laughter.*)

I'm certainly lucky, however, to have as partner, President Allen of the University of Washington, to keep my head out of the clouds and my feet on the ground.

I've got three simple notions in

my head which I wish everybody'd help me get rid of if they're wrong, and, if not, would help me pass on, especially to my fellow teachers.

In one-two-three order these are: Notion No. 1: That Communists have no right to teach in schools whose ends they disavow and whose means they subvert.

Notion No. 2: That we owe no duty to let them teach, since they can prove no right, and since duties and rights must go together.

Notion No. 3: That we may owe ourselves, however, as democrats, a duty we do not owe Communists—to tolerate, namely, even the intolerant, for the sake of a system of tolerance. But such a duty, relative as it clearly is to our advantage, ceases to be our duty when it becomes disadvantageous to us internationally, or disruptive to us domestically and educationally.

If these three simple ideas are not cockeyed, I want you to help me put over their combined sweet-reasonableness to the college teachers everywhere. I'm going to try my hand at that right now, knowing well that a thousand firesides of this national Town Meeting will, even while I'm speaking, set me right if I am wrong.

My fellow teachers of America, lead me your ears now. I speak not only as a present college teacher, proud with you of that privilege, but also as an ex-legislator respectful of the voters. I know, of course, that you are not

afraid of a handful of Communists, but I, myself, am afraid of a landful of voters.

My reason may seem silly, but it's a peculiarly personal sort of reason. I just know that I'm not going to be smart enough, and I doubt if Harold Taylor is, or even Roger Baldwin, to persuade parents that academic freedom for us requires their children to be taught by honest-to-the-devil Communists. (Applause.)

Of course, if it were a duty to hire and keep the Communists, then we teachers would do it, or die. But it's my notion, you see, that it's not our duty. Russian tactics have rendered most questionable the use of teachers who are unfree from external dogma and who are certainly beguiled by loyalty to an alien power and might so easily become, as they have in every other country, fifth columnists.

Roger Baldwin has just admitted that he will not have them on his council. I noticed he wished some off on Yale, but not on Harvard that he represents. (Applause.) And yet, he would wish them on the policy committee of America, which public education is.

Shall we teachers help bail out his timidity when we know that even a handful will disrupt any committee? I do not care for the kind of courage, myself, which rushes to censure university regents for firing party members whom we would not ourselves be bold enough to hire. (Applause.)

President Taylor, for all his easy recommendation to President Allen across the continent, has, I think, not a single Communist on his faculty at Sarah Lawrence.

It seems to me that even some of us professors are willing to fight to the last president for a chance of the comrades to ruin, as a handful of them can and will ruin our fine professional collegueship. This courage by proxy strikes my Texas soul as a sort of faint-heartedness on an empty stomach. (Applause.)

If I am wrong, ladies and gentlemen, tell me. I'd like to make these suggestions to my own American Association of University Professors. Put your trust in the people, including its legislative committees, which are within their rights even when off their manners.

Let us make our first line of defense the rights we've got, rather than the rights the Communists "ain't got," so that we'll not later have to fall back on our real line, weakened in public esteem and impaired in professional morale.

The Communist outpost is a booby trap, politically unstrategic and professionally far beyond the call of our duty. (Applause.)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, T. V. Smith. And now, gentlemen, will you join me up here around the microphone for a little discussion before we take the questions from the audience? Dr. Taylor, you've had several

darts thrown in your direction, especially by T. V. I wonder if you'd like to comment now?

Dr. Taylor: I wouldn't want to say anything about such a homely Texas boy. (*Laughter.*)

Dr. Smith: Wisconsin's no better. Go on. (*Laughter.*)

Dr. Taylor: I would like to ask Dr. Allen one question. That is this, that if the individual Communist is incapable of telling the truth, and this is assumed in advance and is the basis of the case against two members of the University of Washington faculty, then why weren't the two men tried on the basis of their individual dishonesty rather than in terms of their membership in a political party? (*Applause.*)

Dr. Allen: A good question and I thought it would come first. The reason is that if we had tried to do this these hearings would still be in progress and probably for months to come. The fact is that these gentlemen could defend themselves as scholars in their particular fields, as in fact they were.

My point is—and I don't want to be diverted from the main issue—that the man himself must be free, honest, and whole.

Dr. Taylor: Excuse me, Dr. Allen, how do you know he's honest, free, and whole, if you never ask that question, or never charge him or try him on that? (*Applause.*)

Dr. Allen: He made his mistake when he joined a party in which he could not exercise the critical

faculties that a scholar and a teacher has a right to exercise. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Baldwin or T. V.? Which one of you wants to speak next?

Dr. Smith: Dr. Taylor, you make a great deal of prejudging the truant. It is the Communists who have already prejudged themselves against the truth by throwing overboard the only method that you, or I, or anybody else knows—a candid investigation apart from political pressure of what is the truth in any field. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Baldwin is ready now.

Mr. Baldwin: I'd like to ask Dr. Allen and Mr. Smith whether this general rule about the search for truth and freedom applies also to a lot of other people—Klansmen and Fascists and all the rest of them? Where are you going to stop, if you start with Communism? (*Applause.*)

Dr. Allen: Of course it does, but one at a time, please. (*Laughter.*)

Dr. Taylor: I still have not had any kind of answer to my quite serious question. (*Applause.*) I have been told that it takes too long to investigate honesty. I don't think this is an answer. I have been told that because people belong to a party, we know in advance that they are not capable of telling the truth. My simple question is that according to Anglo-Saxon law, by which this country runs, we should investigate an in-

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

THOMAS VERNOR SMITH—Professor of philosophy and citizenship at Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y., Dr. Smith was for many years a professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. Following World War II, he was a member of the U. S. Government educational missions to Japan and Germany. For 18 months he was Director of Education for the Allied Control Committee in Italy.

Born in Blanket, Texas, in 1890, Dr. Smith received an A.B. and an A.M. from the University of Texas and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He also holds the degrees of LL.D. from Miami University and of D.Litt. from Florida Southern College.

From 1935 to 1938, he was a member of the Illinois State Senate, and from 1939 to 1941, he was U. S. Congressman-at-Large from Illinois. He is author of several books.

HAROLD TAYLOR—Born in Toronto, Canada, in 1914, Dr. Taylor has his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from the University of Toronto and his Doctor's degree from the University of London. Dr. Taylor came to the United States in 1939 and became a naturalized citizen in 1946. He taught philosophy at the University of Wisconsin from 1939 until 1945. In 1944 he was with the Office of Scientific Research and Development. Since 1945, he has been president and member of the board of trustees of Sarah Lawrence College at Bronxville, N. Y.

ROGER NASH BALDWIN—Listed in *Who's Who* as a political reformer or pacifist, Mr. Baldwin has been president of the American Civil Liberties Union since 1917. With an A.B. and an A.M. from Harvard, he became an instructor of sociology at Washington University (St. Louis) from 1906 to 1909. From 1907 to 1910 he was chief probation officer for the Juvenile Court

of St. Louis; from 1908 to 1910, secretary of the National Prohibition Association; 1910 to 1917, secretary of the St. Louis Civic League; and from 1913 to 1914, a member of the St. Louis Children's Commission.

Mr. Baldwin is a member of the board of directors of the National Urban League and of the International League for the Rights of Man. He is a trustee of the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust. Since 1938 he has been a member of the Harvard Overseers' Committee on Economics Department. From 1938 to 1942 he was an instructor at the New School for Social Research.

He has written many pamphlets on civil liberties as well as several books. During World War I, Mr. Baldwin served a prison term as a conscientious objector.

RAYMOND BERNARD ALLEN—Born in Cathay, N. D., in 1902, Dr. Allen has his Bachelor's, Master's, Doctor's, and Medical degrees from the University of Minnesota. He also has LL.D. degrees from Tulane, University of Illinois, and Lake Forest University. After engaging in general practice of medicine in Minot, N. D., he was a fellow at the Mayo Foundation from 1930 to 1933. From 1934 to 1936, he was associate dean in charge of graduate studies at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University. From 1933 to 1936, he was also associate director of New York Post Graduate Medical School and Hospital of Columbia.

In 1936, Dr. Allen went to Wayne University College of Medicine as dean, and, in 1940, he became dean of the Chicago Colleges of the University of Illinois (medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy), also serving as dean of the College of Medicine from 1943 to 1946. Since 1946, Dr. Allen has been president of the University of Washington.

dividual person for his guilt and not charge him for his associations.

Dr. Allen: Dr. Taylor, this is not guilt by association. This is membership in a clandestine organization that does not permit the individual to exercise his critical faculties. That is the place of our academic community in our society. (Applause.)

Dr. Smith: May I say to Mr. Baldwin—he asked where will this stop? In the first place, the Communist party is the only organization I know of in America today that is committed to external dogma on the one side and is committed, as in France and Italy and every other country, to an alien power in its loyalty. (Applause.)

If that be not true, as Dr. Allen says, "one at a time." Where are we going to stop? Let me ask where Mr. Baldwin is going to stop when he proposes to take them in and then investigate them man by man and subject by subject. That is the most impossible procedure that's ever been undertaken. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Taylor: Dr. Smith, I think that the proposal is not to take one Communist after another into university and college faculties in America, but to treat those individuals who are now teaching in colleges as human beings, with consciences, with rights, and with views of their own. If an individual commits himself to a philosophical position and to a view about politics which he holds, then the question as to whether or not he is abusing his privileges in the college to distort his teaching, to subvert students, is a positive, practical question which can only be decided by individual judgment and by fair trial. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Smith?

Dr. Smith: Dr. Taylor speaks not like a college president, but one who's never even been to college in his divine simplicity. (*Shouts.*) No, let me make it out. Dr. Taylor knows perfectly well that neither he nor any other college president or faculty ever sends spies on teachers into classrooms, and that we'd completely bankrupt the morale of American colleges if we did. How are you going

to know that a man who is already sworn to be active and to follow the Leninist and Marxist line is really practicing perversion upon his subject matter if you don't go in and ruin the morale of your faculty by investigating as he says, point by point? (*Applause.*)

Dr. Taylor: Excuse me, I can tell you how to do that. Just discuss the whole matter with the students. Everyone forgets that the student is the person we are educating and that if he is being subverted, he should be able to say so. If 90 per cent of the university student body comes out in favor of the Marshall Plan, then we can assume that the Communist propaganda in any individual college has been a failure. I think that the views of students, the views of faculty colleagues, the normal procedure of conducting the business of educating young people can give you the information without sending spies to classrooms. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Smith: Dr. Taylor, students are the objects of education. But they are there to be educated. (*Applause.*) They are not yet educated. You know as well as I do that you would bankrupt every faculty in this country if you began to quiz students about the performance of the faculty members and believed what they said. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Baldwin: Mr. Smith takes exception to the principle of selecting professors in relation to their particular jobs. I suggest to Professor Smith that there has never been

any other way in which professors have been selected. You pick them for their qualifications. If Yale wants one of the most prominent architects in the world and he happens to be a Communist, Yale knows that architecture has no relation to the Communist theory. (Applause.)

Dr. Allen: Might I say to Mr. Baldwin I understand that, in 1938, certain Soviet astronomers were denounced for smuggling "counterrevolutionary bourgeois ideology" into astronomy, of all things. It was reported by Professor A. B. Hill in *The New Statesman and Nation*, January 27, 1940. The subversive doctrine being introduced was Einstein's denial of the infinity of space and time. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Dr. Taylor, do you want to tackle that?

Dr. Taylor: I would like to say something about that. I think that if the Russians behave as they do and they consider certain views in physics to be ideologically improper, that's no reason why we should then begin thinking of our ideas in those same terms. It seems to me that if we stick to the general tradition, which I recognize in college faculties, that ideas should be judged in terms of their value and judged by people who know how to value them, then we won't need to worry about what the Russians do with their astronomy. I think that's the worry of the Russians. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: One more comment, Professor Smith.

Dr. Smith: From *The Communist* of May, 1937, "Party and Y. C. L. factions set up within classes and departments will supplement and combat, by means of discussions and brochures and so forth, bourgeois omissions and distortions in the regular curriculum. Marxist-Leninist analysis must be injected into every class."

How are you going to find out whether they are injecting it into architecture, into astronomy, into genetics, into anything else unless you institute a spy system? I hope you don't use your students for it but proctors to find it out, and then you'll bankrupt your faculty for a fact, for that's what they're good for. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now gentlemen, here's an audience of 1,500 people here eager and ready to get to this question period. Before we continue this discussion here in Town Hall, here is a message of interest for our listeners:

Announcer: This is the 549th broadcast of America's Town Meeting, the Nation's most popular radio and television forum, originating in Town Hall, just off Times Square, in New York. You will hear questions from the audience in just a moment.

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The yearly subscription rate is \$4.50, six months for \$2.35. A trial subscription of eleven issues is \$1.00. Many previous programs are still in print and you may write for copies of Town Meetings which you may have missed.

Last week we received an interesting request from an official of the American Military Government in Germany. The officer told us that the reorientation program involves the application of our political as well as social ideals and democratic principles and that the emphasis is definitely on Town

Meetings, forums, and discussion groups. He asked us for a series of photographs of typical Town Meetings for use in illustrating the American democratic way of free speech and expression. The officer said, "It is felt that an extensive educational program with particular emphasis on how a great democracy lives, learns, and works will prove to be one of our more important and influential media with which to achieve our occupational objectives." Needless to say, Town Meeting is happy to be of assistance.

Now for our question period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: We'll start with the young man on the aisle over here.

Man: Mr. Denny, my question is directed to Dr. Allen. Dr. Allen, at what point does the teaching of liberal ideas become communistic and, as such, a danger to a country's educational system and also its security?

Dr. Allen: I don't think there is any limit to the teaching of liberal ideas providing these ideas be the individual's own, honestly held, for which he's willing to stand up and be counted. That's the very point at which I draw the line, that he not belong to an action political group, a clandestine organization, or any organization that binds and restrains his freedom of criticism and dissent.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady here in the center of the house.

Lady: Mr. Denny, I would like to put this question to Dr. Taylor. Students look to the teacher as to a leader. Do you think, Dr. Taylor, that a teacher who is a member of a communistic party will be loyal to his obligation as a teacher or to his obligation as a member of the party?

Dr. Taylor: I think that is a matter for the individual teacher to decide. If he decides in favor of the individual student, he has answered the question in favor of the college. If he decides in favor of the party, then he has let down the student and betrayed the college. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman in the aisle here.

Man: Mr. Baldwin. Doesn't a teacher discuss his own opinions and philosophy with his classes, regardless of the subject he teaches?

Mr. Baldwin: I think you would find that most teachers do not go outside their subjects. I cannot imagine that a teacher of art is going to discuss politics. If there is an intrusion of partisan political views by a Communist teacher in an art class, it is a proper subject for discipline by the university. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Smith, do you want to comment on that?

Mr. Smith: Yes, I just wanted to read again from *The Communist*: "Communist teachers must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students, to the best of their ability, working-class education."

Mr. Denny: Dr. Smith, what is that *Communist* that you're quoting from?

Dr. Smith: The official organ of the Communist party of America, May, 1937.

Mr. Baldwin: Thank you. I merely want to comment on that, that the two professors fired by Dr. Allen's university had taught for 20 years. It took the Un-American Activities Committee to find out they were Communists. Their students and their colleagues never found it out. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Dr. Allen?

Dr. Allen: That is correct. It was never found out. But during those 20 years, at every legislative session and sometimes in-between there was a great deal of talk about the Communists' nest of activity at the University. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Smith?

Dr. Smith: Reading from *The Communist* again, "Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism and Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time conduct struggles around the school in a truly Bolshevik manner." (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Denny: Dr. Taylor?

Dr. Taylor: Now that Dr. Smith is scaring himself by reading that I would like to say that the dangerous thing I find in what Dr. Allen said is that there were people who kept talking about this network of Bolshevism. I think unless one can be more precise than that, that is idle talk to be withstood by the faculty and the students together. (Applause.)

Dr. Allen: It may be idle talk ladies and gentlemen, but the poison of a snake is not to be measured by the size of the fangs.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the gentleman under the balcony.

Man: My question is directed to Dr. Smith of Texas. (Laughter.)

Mr. Denny: Formerly of Texas.

Man: Can we defeat a rival philosophy by simply suppressing it? Shouldn't we rather make democ

racy a living, vital, dynamic force?

Dr. Smith: Of course. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young lady with the black hair.

Lady: Dr. Allen, if Communist teachers are to be prohibited from teaching, are we to prohibit student organizations which are so-called Communist?

Dr. Allen: Students traditionally, and happily so, are in the habit of organizing about as they wish, and I hope they continue to go on doing so.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Baldwin, do you have something to say to that?

Mr. Baldwin: No, not exactly on that point, but on previous points. It seems to me that Dr. Allen and Dr. Smith, in confining their strictures to members of the Communist party, have forgotten the fellow travelers, who, from their point of view, ought to be just as dangerous as Communists, but they're not proposing to fire them. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. All right, the gentleman over here on the aisle.

Man: Dr. Allen.

Mr. Denny: The gentleman indicated he had a question for Mr. Baldwin.

Man: Just the same, they're both about the same subject, so I can ask either of them—it makes no difference. (*Laughter.*) I'd like to ask Dr. Allen if it is not unlawful to be an American Communist, is it, therefore, unconstitutional to

deny a Communist to teach in our colleges?

Mr. Denny: Well, that's not the question we're discussing—whether it is unconstitutional or not, but go ahead and comment on it.

Dr. Allen: I think any American citizen, including a college professor, has a constitutional right to be a Communist, but a Communist doesn't have a constitutional right to be a college professor. (*Applause.*)

Man: Dr. Taylor, do you really think that this Communist party which admits minors as nonvoters to membership is a legally recognized political party? Do you really think that? Minors—nonvoters—in its membership?

Dr. Taylor: I believe you will find that the Communist party is a legal political party of the United States. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: All right. The young lady in the aisle.

Lady: Dr. Taylor. How can you continually check on teachers to determine whether or not they are flavoring their teachings with Communist ideology?

Mr. Denny: He just answered that question a few moments ago. How can you tell? Go ahead and repeat it quickly will you please, Dr. Taylor?

Dr. Taylor: Well, I think that if a college is so unaware of what is happening in its classes and with its students, then the college needs to take precautions to make sure that the students are receiving the

kind of education which is their due. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady way over on the other side.

Lady: Dr. Smith. What do you mean "it is not our duty to employ Communists" as teachers in our colleges?

Mr. Denny: What do you mean it is not our *duty* to employ Communists?

Lady: What is our duty towards these Communists?

Dr. Smith: We haven't any duty towards them at all. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Dr. Smith: No, I will qualify that. We do have the duty, with Mr. Baldwin's Civil Liberties Union, to uphold their civil liberties when they are citizens of the United States. But we have no duty to them to put them in privileged positions that other men achieve by disinterested study and objectivity. There certainly is no duty with reference to the teaching profession. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now when you're asking questions, never mind your name, just the name of the speaker. Fire away.

Man: Mr. Baldwin. Which do you consider of greater importance: restricting the civil rights of Communist teachers opposed to our democratic principles or the welfare and safety of our country?

Mr. Baldwin: I don't think that you have to make that choice. I think in those positions where Communist political views do not affect teaching, that you can safely

employ a Communist without any regard to the welfare of the country. They're here anyhow, and they can't do damage in those positions in which their political views do not count. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman under the balcony.

Man: Dr. Smith. Isn't it better to teach Communism in the open where it can be answered than to drive it underground to secret meetings and such where it will not be answered?

Dr. Smith: You can answer it all right. You know in advance what it is. This is just the point that Mr. Baldwin overlooks when he speaks of fellow travelers. We are not out to get anybody. Fellow travelers can change their minds you know, and don't have to follow the party line unless they want to. A Communist party member can't even change his mind, as Granville Hicks showed when he resigned because he couldn't.

Mr. Denny: All right, please.

Man: Dr. Taylor. Before the last war, would you have advocated the teaching of Fascism in the colleges? If not, why do you support the teaching of Communism today?

Dr. Taylor: I'm not advocating the teaching of Communism, sir. I'm advocating that a teacher teach the things for which he has been appointed and that he be judged as a teacher. If his teaching is dishonest, if his teaching is distorted according to any line, I suggest that he should not be teaching

I'm not putting a plea for the teaching of Communism; I'm putting a plea for the individual teacher. (*Applause.*)

Man: That does not answer my question. I asked you, "Would you have advocated the teaching of Fascism in public colleges; would you have advocated that? Answer that question.

Dr. Taylor: I would not advocate teaching Fascism in the public colleges of America. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman down here on the second row.

Man: Dr. Allen. I'm just a simple man and I looked up in Webster's dictionary that education includes all forms of human experience. Now Communism certainly is a human experience, and I think it should be taught in schools. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Dr. Allen: My friend, thank you for that question. I've been wanting to say that we need to know more about Communism, not less. Our faculties, our political scientists, our economists throughout the country need to study this thing. We can be very sure that the economists in Russia are studying our economy very carefully. Certainly in our institution we happen to have, and I'm glad to report this, that I happen to know at least one philosophical, intellectual Marxist who believes in this thing, but he is no longer a member of the party. So I am certain that there is still freedom; in fact, I am confident that we have broadened

the base of freedom in our institution because we have insisted on people standing up for what they believe. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Next question.

Lady: I wonder if Mr. Baldwin would permit a teacher to teach college people astronomy and science where communistic tendencies cannot enter into the discussion, however, where that teacher may meet with his students on a social level. Most colleges have that arrangement, where he can taint his pupils and his students with his own personal philosophies. Would you permit such a person to teach in a college in this United States?

Mr. Baldwin: I do not think that the activities of a college teacher outside his professional obligations are any concern of the college authorities for purposes of discipline. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Dr. Taylor?

Dr. Taylor: I would just like to make one remark because I don't feel that earlier I answered one question to my own satisfaction, and I'm sure to the satisfaction of the person who asked it. That was, "How do you know when someone is corrupting youth?" I think that until you have a shift in your attitude toward youth, by which you assume that something is happening in young people which makes them learn the things and reject partisan politics and reject people who try to stuff things down their throats, that you don't have a con-

ception of education in the sense in which I'm using the term.

I think that the young people, themselves, reject very quickly those who try to corrupt them, and induce in them attitudes of their own. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Taylor. Now I wish there were time for more questions. But while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's discussion, here is a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: Those of us associated with America's Town Meeting are constantly reminded of the importance which you, our listeners, place upon these programs week after week. Your thousands of letters in response to each discussion underline our responsibility in providing all America with a platform for mature evaluation of the problems that face mankind—a platform for the free and unhampered expression of the ideas and opinions which shape our destiny.

In nearly one hundred cities across the Nation, local advertisers sponsor America's Town Meeting on their ABC station. Department stores, banks, public utilities, automobile dealers, newspapers, furniture stores—in fact, almost every type of retail firm is represented. They bring Town Meeting to the listeners in their city as a public service to help perpetuate the American tradition of free speech—and they are enthusiastic about Town Meeting as an effective advertising medium. This

program is available for sponsorship on the station to which you are listening. The station manager will be happy to provide you with further information.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion, we return you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Now here is our first summary by Dr. T. V. Smith.

Dr. Smith: The party line which Mr. Baldwin thinks is restricted to a few subjects reaches now from A to Z. A stands for Art, where that which is beautiful is what the Commissar says so, and Z stands for zoology where Mendel is now out and only Lysenko is in. We owe no duties to such intellectual lackeys, for they have won no professional rights. We suppose that teaching is a privilege, not a plum, and that it is right to fire those whom it is wrong to hire. We think we can well do without those who cannot do with us. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Smith. Now, Mr. Roger Baldwin.

Mr. Baldwin: I find myself in this argument slightly to the right of Dr. Taylor and much to the left of Dr. Allen and Professor Smith. I would make a test of associations in appointments in departments where loyalties—Communist or other—would be likely to conflict with good teaching.

For teachers with established tenure, I would like Dr. Taylor to apply only the test of demonstrated biased teaching. This is, to my mind, a fair principle of reasonableness, and the only method

which squares with the need of wise discretion. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Roger Baldwin. Now a final word from Dr. Raymond Allen.

Dr. Allen: The discipline, beliefs, and aims of the Communist party are well known, but you and I, as individuals, join or refuse to join not on the basis of legality. When we make up our minds about political organizations, we make them up on the basis of reality. Professional organizations and institutions, like individuals, must make up their minds on the same basis. I am certain that the affiliation of teachers with this party of slaves does jeopardize and insult the integrity of free education. It diminishes and degrades the noble work of men who are free. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Allen. Now a final word from Dr. Taylor.

Dr. Taylor: I believe in America, and I believe in our young people and in the integrity of their teachers. I believe that if teachers betray us with their young people, we have the means to overcome them and to dismiss them. I believe that the biggest challenge we can make to Communism, here and abroad, is to show to ourselves, and to the world, what life can be like in a country where people live together in their colleges, unafraid of each other's ideas, and live together in their country in tolerance, in happiness, and in justice to the individual. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Allen, Mr. Baldwin, and Dr. T. V. Smith. Dr. Smith has suggested that if you think he's wrong, set him right, or if you think he's right, set these views to work in your community. Now, if you would like to let us know what you think about tonight's question, we'll see that your views are distributed to the speakers on this platform and to any other place where they would be useful.

Next week, we turn our attention to another lively subject on the international scene, "Will a Union of the Democracies Now Promote Peace?" Our speakers will be former Justice Owen J. Roberts, dean of the law school of the University of Pennsylvania; Clarence Streit, president of Federal Union Now, and author of *Union Now*; Foreign Correspondent Edgar Ansel Mowrer; and Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, professor of history at Williams College.

Two weeks from tonight, we tackle another very hot subject before Congress when we originate the program in Boston, Mass. Our subject will be "Should the Administration Labor Bill Be Adopted?" Our speakers will be Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin; Gerhard P. VanArkel, former general counsel of the NLRB; Senator Forrest C. Donnell, Republican of Missouri; former Congressman Fred A. Hartley, co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act. Our Boston friends may obtain tickets for this broadcast by

writing to radio station WCOP in Boston.

In closing, may I remind you friends that the Red Cross in action is America in action. Give generously through the Red Cross. Neighbor to neighbor, let's all help the Red Cross reach its sixty-million dollar goal. If you would like a copy of tonight's discussion, just write to Town Hall, New York 18, N. Y., enclosing 10 cents. Please do not send stamps. Allow at least two weeks for delivery. We invite you to be with us next Tuesday and every Tuesday at the sound of the crier's bell.

Announcer: Friends, before we end this 549th broadcast of America's Town Meeting, we would like to talk for just sixty seconds about the greatest "partnership of the people" in America—your RED CROSS, which today opened its 1949 campaign for sixty million dollars. We refer to the Red Cross as a "partnership of the people"—for that's exactly what it is.

The American people, upon whom the Red Cross depends for its support, are the Red Cross. Many of you, as volunteers, perform its work of mercy. By making your contribution, you are giving not to the Red Cross, but through it. It is the channel through which compassion and mercy find expression in the relief of human suffering across the street—across the Nation—across the world.

Last year, for example, saw the greatest Red Cross disaster relief effort since the midwestern floods of 1937. More than twelve million dollars were allocated by the Red Cross for the relief and rehabilitation of more than 300,000 victims of 303 disasters. These catastrophes in 1948 seriously depleted Red Cross disaster funds and they must be replenished. You, too, can help through your Red Cross—our greatest "partnership of the people." (*Applause.*)